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CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 1790.

On the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. SHERMAN'S *motion for assuming a part of the State debts, under consideration.*

MR. *Madison*. It is not without much reluctance that I trouble the committee with any observations on a subject which has been so long under discussion, and may be thought to be entirely exhausted. I must refer for my apology to the uncommon perseverance with which the advocates for an assumption adhere to their object, notwithstanding the difficulties which oppose it. On the supposition that the measure in question were ever so eligible, if it could be so modified as to be acceptable to the general sense of the government, and of its constituents at large, every member ought I think to be struck with the impropriety of pressing a matter of such peculiar importance and delicacy, by a bare majority.

The proposition now under debate is liable to all the objections to the former one, as well as to the many others that have been stated against it. From the explanation given by the gentleman from Connecticut, it is evident that this proposition may in the result assume the shape of the original one. It may therefore be fairly combated by all those arguments that were brought either against the original proposition, or against the very objectionable manner in which the blanks are proposed to be filled up.

I am not insensible that an assumption of the state debts is under certain aspects, a measure not unworthy of a favorable attention. If it had not at least plausible recommendations, I do not think it could have obtained so respectable a patronage here: I am sure it would not have originated in the quarter which proposed it. But, Sir, it is a question that must be considered and reconsidered in all its various points of view, and the more it has already been investigated, the more objections have multiplied, and the more solid they have appeared. The arguments used in favor of the measure have been supposed weighty, but, Sir, I consider them as unsupported. It has been contended that the state debts are in their nature debts of the United States; that they were only from different offices, and have borne a different denomination, but that in justice they are the debts of the United States, and that the individual creditors can of right claim payment of the same from the general government.

I deny the principle, Sir, and I think it is disproved by the arguments of the gentlemen themselves. If the debts of the particular states be nothing more than the debts of the United States under another denomination, and if we are bound to provide for them precisely as for the debts of the United States, let gentlemen consider whether they are not bound to view them in this light wherever they may be found. If they are debts of the United States in the hands of individual citizens, for the same reason that the other debts in private hands are debts of the United States, must they not be debts of the United States also when in the Treasuries of the different states?

Will gentlemen say that what are called the state debts ought to be viewed in that light when in the hands of citizens, and that this quality forsakes them the moment they are received into a state Treasury. If they wish to preserve consistency in their reasoning, they must say, either that the debts are dissimilar in the hands of private citizens, or that they are similar in the hands of the states.

The debts of the particular states cannot in any point of view be considered as actual debts of the United States; and the United States are not bound by any past requisition, or any resolutions now existing to assume them, till the accounts are settled and the balances ascertained. We have been told, sir, not only that the assumption of the state debts by the United States is a matter of right on the part of the states, and a matter of obligation on the part of the United States, but likewise that it is equitable; nay, that it is a matter of necessity.

It has been said that the United States are invested with the resources of the particular states, and that therefore they are bound to provide for the debts of those states. I think I may safely rest the issue of this question on a question of fact, Whether the states most urgent in this business are incapacitated from providing for their debts by the establishment of the present constitution? If gentlemen assert that to be the case, I think it is incumbent upon them then to prove either that the resources which they have given, up would exceed their quota of the federal requisitions, or that the use of these resources by the general government will throw a disproportioned burthen upon that particular part of the community. Let us consider, sir, what is the ratio in which the states, in their individual capacity, ought to bear the debts of the United States, and what is the ratio in which they will contribute under the taxes that it is proposed to levy. The only evidence by which we can guide ourselves in this enquiry is a statement from the several custom houses. I believe indeed, that such a statement may not be conclusive. I think it is imperfect; at the same time it is the best guide in our reach, and probably it will be sufficient to illustrate the present argument.—The state of New-Hampshire, according to this statement, will contribute about one hundredth part of what will be contributed by the whole. Her ratio of contribution according to her representation would be nearly about one twentieth. Here then, in fact, is a saving of four fifths to that state. The state may then take this saving and apply it to the purpose of discharging her domestic debt; she is relieved in that proportion, and therefore in that proportion she is more able to provide for her state debt under the new constitution than under the old one.

The state of Connecticut will contribute about one thirty-eighth; her proper quota would be about one thirteenth. Here then is a saving of two-thirds to the state of Connecticut; and in that proportion is her situation better under the new Constitution than the old. Taking the states eastward of New-York altogether, that the gentlemen say are rendered incapable of bearing the burthen of the state debts, by the adoption of the new constitution; I say, take the whole together, and they will contribute about a sixth only; whereas they would have had to contribute, a fourth, if this constitution had not been established, and they had paid their part of the debt of the United States In my apprehension, then, sir, as the payment of the state debts cannot be claimed as a matter of right, neither can such payment be called for on the principles of equity, or what is most of all urged, necessity. But we are told that policy is also in favor of the measure. A gentleman from Massachusetts has said, that the people of Massachusetts never would submit to a rejection of the measure; that it will create a spirit of opposition to the government; in short, that it will endanger the union itself. I confess that these are consequences that would be dreadful to me, if I could suppose they would really take place, and that evils of greater magnitude would not ensue from an adoption of the measure. It is my opinion, sir, that if the refusal to assume the state debts would produce dangerous consequences to the union, from the discontents that it is apprehended will grow out of the measure, much more have we to fear from an assumption, particularly if hazarded by a small majority. Sir, if we could ascertain the opinions of our constituents, individually, I believe we should find four fifths of the citizens of the United States against the assumption; I believe we should find more; I believe I speak within bounds when I say, that those who would be for an assumption would not amount to one-fifth; this is indeed probable conjecture only. But on the other hand let me ask, what evidence have we that there will be any great disappointment or discontents from a non-assumption? The Legislature of the state of New-Hampshire have lately been in session; have they asked for this assumption? No; on the contrary, tho' they have not instructed their delegates to vote against it, it appears that it was thought of, and that the bulk of the members disapproved of it. The Legislature of Massachusetts have been in session; they were apprized that this matter was under consideration, and yet there has been no declaration from them, as far as I know, that can induce us to believe they wish for it; on the contrary, it would appear from the measures they have taken to provide for the payment of their state debt, that they had proceeded on a supposition that an assumption would not take place. With respect to several other states, their Legislatures have also been in session, and none of them, except South-Carolina, have made any declaration on the subject. If we are to disregard that species of evidence, and to look back to the expectations of the people, I do not think that there is a single indication that this measure was ever thought of by our constituents. Sir, I may safely say, it was never expected by the generality of them.

It has been said, too, that policy recommends the measure. It has been repeated that if the assumption does not take place, no part of the revenues drawn from the union at large will return to the distant parts of it. Sir, I thought this argument had been set aside sometime since. The very reverse will happen. The state debts have begun already to travel towards the central parts of the union, and to such an amount as to make it probable, that if they are provided for by us, nearly the whole will follow. Should this be the case, I believe such disadvantages will ensue as will prove the measure very impolitic. In proportion as the whole money contributed in the way of taxes shall center near the government, or in a particular part of the union, you increase the evil of discordant interests and local jealousies which is already too much felt. But, perhaps, this is not the worst consequence to be apprehended. I concieve that a very great part of the proper debt of the United States will go into the hands of foreigners, and that we shall be heavily burdened in paying an interest to them which cannot be expected to remain in the country; and in proportion as you increase the debt of the united States you will increase this evil.

I am of opinion also that the measure is not politic, because, if the public debt is a public evil, an assumption of the state debts will enormously increase, and perhaps, perpetuate it. It is my idea, Sir, that the United States and the several states could discharge a debt of eighty millions, with greater ease and in less time than the United States alone could do it. I found my opinion on this consideration, that after the United States shall have resorted to every means of taxation within their power, there will still remain resources from which monies may be raised by the states. Nay! I will go farther, and illustrate the remark by adding, that after a state shall have extended its power of taxation to every object falling under general laws, there would still remain resources from which further taxes might be drawn within subdivisions of it, by the subordinate authorities of the state. But sir, when we consider, that in some parts of the union there is an unconquerable aversion to direct taxes, at least if laid by the general government; that in other parts an equal aversion to excises prevails; how will the United States, so circumscribed as to the field of taxation, be able to draw forth such resources as are contemplated by the advocates of an assumption?

It has been asserted that it would be politic to assume the state debts, because it would add strength to the national government. There is no man more anxious for the success of the government than I am, and no one who will join more heartily in curing its defects; but I wish these defects to be remedied by additional constitutional powers, if they should be found necessary. This is the only proper, effectual, and permanent remedy.

Several gentlemen, Sir, have gone into another field of argument in favor of this measure. It has been said, that the constitution itself requires the assumption. One of my colleagues has asked a very proper question,—If as we have been told, the assumption originated in the convention, why were not words inserted that would have incorporated and made the state debts part of the debts of the United States? Sir, if there was a majority who disapproved of the measure, certainly no argument can be drawn from this source; if there was a majority who approved of it, but thought it inexpedient to make it a part of the constitution, they must have been restrained by a fear that it might produce dissentions and render the success of their plan doubtful. I do recollect that such a measure was proposed, and, if my memory does not deceive me, the very gentleman who now appeals to the constitution in support of his argument, disrelished the measure at that time, and assigned for a reason, that it would administer relief perhaps exactly in proportion as the states had been deficient in making exertions. It has been also remarked, that the constitution having been established for obtaining perfect justice, it cannot be carried into effect unless full justice is done on this subject, or in other words, unless the state debts are assumed. Sir, if we are to take these words in their full extent, we must not stop merely with securing justice to the creditors of the government, we should also endeavour to secure justice to every private creditor

whatever. The gentleman ſays, that, by the conſtitution, all debts that exiſted againſt the United States at the time of the adoption of the conſtitution are to be as valid now as they were before its adoption.

What was the ſituation of the ſtate debts before the adoption of the conſtitution? Was it underſtood that they were a part of the debt of the United States, any further than there might be found a balance on a final ſettlement. Was it ever ſuppoſed that they were to be thrown into one common maſs, and that the ſtates ſhould be called on collectively to provide for them? What would have been thought of ſuch a propoſition? Would it have been conſidered as conſiſtent with equity? Would it have been tho't conſtitutional? I am perſuaded if ſuch a propoſition had been made in the old Congreſs it never would have found a ſecond; and for this reaſon, that the debts of the particular ſtates were never conſidered as the debts of the United States. In whatever light we view the queſtion, it appears to me that the arguments urged in ſupport of it, are themſelves unſupportable.

Much has been ſaid of the ſituation of particular ſtates in caſe theſe debts ſhould not be aſſumed. Much, indeed, has been ſaid of the diſtreſſes and exertions of Maſſachuſetts; but if we are to be governed by enquiries of this ſort we muſt extend them to every part of the Union, and we ſhall then find that an aſſumption will give as much diſſatisfaction and work as much injuſtice to a majority of the ſtates as a non-aſſumption may diſappoint the citizens of Maſſachuſetts. I do not wiſh to go into local enquiries, but the preſent ſubject ſeems in its nature to make them in ſome degree unavoidable. The conduct of gentlemen on the other ſide, at leaſt renders the taſk on this indiſpenſable. What would be the operation of the meaſure with reſpect to Virginia? It will not be denied that Virginia ſacrificed as much during the war, in one ſhape or another, and contributed as much to the common defence of the ſtates as any among them, certainly as much as Maſſachuſetts. Theſe are facts that can in time be proved. Since the peace, that ſtate has made great exertions to comply with the requiſitions of Congreſs: I might ſay, Sir, that ſhe was almoſt unequalled in her exertions. Her ſpecie payments into the federal treaſury ſince the peace exceed 600,000 dollars, whereas thoſe of Maſſachuſetts are only betwee 2 and 300,000 dollars. In indents Maſſachuſetts has indeed paid moſt, but by no means in ſuch proportion as to balance the difference in the ſpecie payments. The exertions of Virginia to diſcharge the debt ſhe involved herſelf in by the war, have alſo been very great; ſhe is not behind any of the ſtates—ſhe is before moſt of them; there can be no doubt but that ſhe has certainly diſcharged more of her debts than Maſſachuſetts, and as little doubt in the opinion of the beſt informed, that whenever a final ſettlement ſhall take place that ſtate will be found a creditor to the United States.

If, during the war, ſhe has made as great exertions, and has ſuffered as much as any of the ſtates; if ſhe has ſince the peace paid her full proportion of the ſupplies to the federal treaſury, at the ſame time exerting herſelf to the utmoſt to diſcharge her ſtate debt, and if finally ſhe will probably be found to be in advance to the union, and would therefore if juſtice could at once be done, be now entitled to a reimburſement—what muſt be ſaid by the citizens of that State, if inſtead of a reimburſement, they are called upon to make further advances. Sir, I may add here, that their contributions to the federal treaſury, under the propoſed ſyſtem of revenue will exceed the ratio by which they would contribute, by taxes laid in proportion to their repreſentation. I do not wiſh to extend this inveſtigation any farther than has been already done; but were I to do it, the evidence would be more ſtriking, that the payments from thoſe parts of the union that would receive leaſt benefit from the aſſumption, would be greater than from thoſe that would receive the immediate benefit of it.

One of my colleagues ſeems to be of opinion that the meaſure will be favorable to the intereſt of Virginia; but he ſeems to me to have grounded his opinion on the erroneous ſuppoſition, that the propoſed plan will embrace the whole of the debt as they exiſted at the cloſe of the war, or that the ſtate of Virginia will contribute leſs, on the plan of deriving revenue from conſumption, than ſhe would if derived according to the conſtitutional ratio. I believe, on the contrary, that if the aſſumption ſhould take place as originally propoſed, that there would be a claim on Virginia for five milions, whereas if there is no aſſumption, her citizens will have to provide for about three millions only; and thus, inſtead of bearing her proper burden, which is about one ſeventh, ſhe would have to bear a burden in the ratio of one fifth. He ſeems to think that his own particular diſtrict would be benefited by this meaſure; but if he be right in his other opinion, that that part of the ſtate will conſume more than the other parts, he will find, ſir, that inſtead of relieving his conſtituents, compared with the reſt of the ſtate, that he would ſtill more augment their burthens; ſo that it would come to this at laſt, that the ſtate would have to pay five millions, inſtead of three—and that the particular part of the ſtate he repreſents, inſtead of paying their proportion of three millions, would have to pay more than their proportion of five. I admit, however, that he is the moſt proper judge on that ſubject. But the citizens of Virginia would not only be called upon when already in advance, and to an amount beyond their proper ratio, but in a mode that is peculiarly obnoxious to them—I mean that of exciſe. Sir, the people of that ſtate are as averſe to exciſes as thoſe of any other ſtate can be to direct taxes, and in my own judgment with far more reaſon, where the article exciſed is not by ſome peculiarity free from the common objections. Exciſes are unequal with reſpect to different parts of the union: They are alſo unequal to various parts of the ſame ſtate. This mode of collection gives arbitary powers to the collectors, and expoſes our citizens to vexatious ſearches—It opens a door to frauds and perjuries that tend equally to vitiate the morals of the people, and to defeat the public revenue. Beſides ſir, exciſes are more expenſive in the collection than other kinds of taxes. The collection of the exciſe in Great Britain coſts 10 per cent. That of her direct taxes is computed at 3 per cent. only. I will not poſitively ſay that a ſimilar diſproportion in the expence of collecting would be incurred in this country; but in ſome parts of it I am ſure that the expence of exciſes would be greateſt, and on ſome articles in view, would, if the collection were made at all, exceed the revenue obtained from it.

Sir, there has been an argument of another kind advanced in ſupport of the aſſumption. Gentlemen have thought it a matter of conſequence that not only juſtice ſhould be done, but that the condition of the people ſhould be equalized; that no invidious compariſons might be made between the inhabitants of one ſtate, and thoſe of another, and that no oppreſſions or embarraſſments ſhould force the people to emigrate from one ſtate to another. It would be a comfortable reflection, if every part of the union could be aſſimilated in this inſtance; but, ſir, I think we have no authority to ſacrifice eſſential conſiderations, to obtain theſe advantages. Nor do I know that we ſhould obtain them by aſſuming the ſtate debts. Suppoſing that meaſure to be adopted, let us reflect, what would be the ſituation of the different parts of the union. I do not, at this moment, conſider the queſtion as it reſpects juſtice, right, or general policy, but in reference merely to the particular conſequence of equalizing the circumſtances of the people. Let us take a view comparatively, of the people of the United States.—Maſſachuſetts owes a debt of ſeveral millions. The public debt, when you come to analyze it, at leaſt where it is due to citizens and not to foreigners, is a debt from one part of the people to the other. The government is the collector from the pockets of the debtors to pay it into the hands of the creditors. If, ſir, the ſtate debts ſhould be aſſumed, Maſſachuſetts will then get rid of her embarraſſments; but what would be the ſituation of Virginia? Beſides her public debt, I believe that her citizens owe, one to another, debts to an amount, equal to the whole public debt of Maſſachuſetts, perhaps I might ſay to the amount of both the public and private debts of that ſtate. In addition to all this, the people of Virginia are indebted to foreigners to a greater amount than the whole debt of Maſſachuſetts. Sir, I firmly believe that though Virginia is leſs oppreſſed with public debt than Maſſachuſetts, yet when we take a view of all the difficulties ſhe labors under, and weigh them againſt thoſe of Maſſachuſetts, it will be found that Virginia ought to be relieved herſelf inſtead of being expected to relieve others.

But, ſuppoſing all objections of another nature to be laid aſide, I freely confeſs that after a more minute examination into the ſubject, I am much inclined to doubt whether the aſſumption can poſſibly be carried into execution. Difficulties are continually ariſing when I ſurvey this queſtion, for which I can find no ſolution, without departing from every principle by which we ought to be guided. It never yet has been ſhewn in what manner a remedy could be provided for a partial ſubſcription. Suppoſe the ſtate creditors were part of them to ſubſcribe and part to refuſe. Suppoſe thoſe of one ſtate ſubſcribe, and thoſe of another ſhould not. Again, Sir, by what method would you diſcriminate the debts that come under the definition, from thoſe that will be excluded by it? Where will you inveſt this important diſcretionary power. I really think that great difficulties will be found before this can be effected. There is another objection, to which I have never heard a ſatisfactory anſwer, although it has been repeatedly urged by a member from Georgia. There are debts exiſting in ſome of the ſtates that do not bear intereſt, that have got into circulation without any title to it, and have been received by the preſent holders without any other expectation than that in ſome reaſonable time the principal would be paid. Would it, ſir, be proper or neceſſary to conſider theſe as debts of the union, bearing intereſt, or to provide for the immediate funding of them? But there is a caſe, in my opinion, far more difficult, I mean the paper money iſſued to redeem the ſtate debts. The ſtate of North-Carolina has taken up its certificates with theſe paper bills. They are not propoſed to be included in the aſſumption. They are clearly excluded by the preſent motion, yet they are as much a ſtate debt to be ſunk by taxes as certificates, and the taxes may as much interfere with thoſe of other ſtates. Some of the ſtates, ſir, have not only aſſumed the debts recommended by Congreſs for making up the depreciation to the army, but they have gone further and have made up the depreciation, where it was not recommended. Other ſtates have not done this. The debts exiſting in ſome ſtates I take it for granted comprehend theſe depreciation notes. Would it not be unjuſt to call on thoſe ſtates that have not made this proviſion for their army that other ſtates have done, would it not be hard to call upon thoſe officers and ſoldiers who have not received this additional compenſation, to pay it to thoſe of other ſtates, who have? I would not here be underſtood to cenſure the ſtates that made this compenſation; I rather commend them for it. It is a proof of their magnanimity and juſtice that does them honor, but at the ſame time this does not alter the nature of the objection. In ſome ſtates, in order to reward the army, they have done it by ſeveral aids that do not conſtitute any part of the ſtate debts. In ſome of the ſtates there are debts ſtill unliquidated. If you declare that, when liquidated, they ſhall be aſſumed, you afford a temptation that has been hitherto cautiouſly avoided, that of making the ſtates leſs exact in the ſettlement of their accounts. I do not find that any gentleman has propoſed, on the contrary moſt of them ſeem to have rejected the idea of making proviſion at this ſeſſion for fulfilling the engagements in caſe we enter into an aſſumption. I think it would be a powerful and unanſwerable objection againſt aſſuming the ſtate debts at this time, that we do not ſee or are not prepared to decide on the means of providing for them. There is not a more important and fundamental principle in legiſlation, than that the ways and means ought always to face the public engagements; that our appropriations ſhould go hand in hand with our promiſes. To ſay that the United States ſhould be anſwerable for twenty-five millions of dollars without knowing whether the ways and means can be provided, and without knowing whether thoſe who are to ſucceed us will think with us on the ſubject, would be raſh and unjuſtifiable. Sir, in my opinion, it would be hazarding the public faith in a manner contrary to every idea of prudence. It is very true, ſir, that a variety of funds have been propoſed, yet they are nothing more than mere ſuggeſtions, and tho' I think they are as good as could be expected in the time, I really believe that ſome of them, at leaſt, if they can be carried into execution at all, will diſappoint the calculations on which they are founded.

I cannot finiſh my obſervations on this ſubject, ſir, without adverting to one particular, which I would wiſh gentlemen to attend to, not ſo much for our ſakes as their own. I would recommend to them no longer to aſſume a pre-eminence over us in the nationality of their motives; and that they would forbear thoſe frequent aſſertions, that if the ſtate debts are not provided for, the federal debts ſhall alſo go unprovided for; nay, that if the ſtate debts are not aſſumed, the Union will be endangered. Sir, I am perſuaded that if the gentlemen knew the motives which govern us, they would bluſh at ſuch intemperate as well as inconſiſtent language. I am ſure that if they knew the emotions with which it is heard, they would at leaſt ſee the inutility of it. I hope, Sir, that whatever may be the deciſion on this queſtion of aſſumption, that patriotiſm and every other noble and generous motive will lead the minority to acquieſce in meaſures which will tend to eſtabliſh public credit by a due proviſion for the public engagements.

The committee then roſe.

NOTICES OF DR. FRANKLIN.

HE long lived retired, and as it appeared, forgotten by the world, becauſe from his ſituation, incapable of being noticed by it—his death removed this barrier—and it is aſtoniſhing how the whole city was moved—His funeral was as crowded as at the entry of Gen. Waſhington; all ſeemed as if they had loſt a parent, or a friend, and ſuch indeed he was to more than the world knew. The different Inſtitutions, which conceived themſelves benefited by him, without previous concert, appeared to honour his remains. It appeared that almoſt every inſtitution was repreſented and held him as Founder or Benefactor. They caſt lots for places—The Philoſophical Society, got the firſt—The Univerſity, I believe, the next—The Printers 3d—the two former yielding to the latter, as he had been a Printer. The Philoſophical Society met, and have appointed Mr. Rittenhouſe, and Dr. Smith, to form an eulogium on his memory. The ſtate officers, &c. go in mourning. We were jealous leſt ſtrangers ſhould be the firſt to honor a character to which we were ſo much indebted—Such honors reflect as much light upon thoſe who beſtow, as thoſe who are thus noticed with eſteem and veneration. His general character is too well known to need any thing to be ſaid—He was a practical Philoſopher, whoſe doctrines, theories, and practice, all had one ultimate grand view—making mankind better, happier, and more independent. Every day was marked with ſome uſeful project, and the *perdidi Diem*, I believe could not have been repeated by him at any period of his long life—His life was more governed by reaſon, than that of any perſon we have heard of—and he was an example to others of what he wiſhed them to be. His fortune was the effect of Induſtry and Savingneſs; not of Avarice or deſire of Wealth, but from a ſtrong principle of practical economy, as the neceſſary part of a good citizen, and a neceſſary principle to make a State thrive.

I remember a circumſtance happened one evening, when I was at his houſe—a freſh taper was brought wrapped in paper, the child attempted to throw the paper in the fire, the Doctor ſaved it, made her cut it into ſtripes, and put it on the mantle piece, obſerving that it would always be ready to light the taper without waſting uſeful paper, which ſhe had often done, and made a leſſon of economy the child will never forget, nor ſhall I. It was his happy talent to draw inſtruction from every thing. He died, as he lived, doing good. Beloved whilſt alive, he will be canonized now dead, in the hearts of thoſe who cheriſh the memory of the benefactors to mankind. Some men leave fortunes to pious uſes, as a ſpecies of compenſation for their uncharitableneſs whilſt living. Few, like Dr. FRANKLIN made uſefulneſs, and promoting publick felicity, the great object of their lives—Numbers have, as public men, endeavoured to promote publick good; few, like the Doctor have, as it were, entered into the family, and by perfecting the parts, operated the good of the whole. His ſentiments were honoured whilſt living, now he is dead, they will become more honored—more ſought after, and I hope be more generally adopted. He was buried near his wife, in Chriſt Church burying-ground, by his deſire. Mr. HILL, Mr. DUFFIELD, Judge JAY, and Judge HOPKINSON, are his Executors.

LONDON, MARCH 10.

THE Portugueſe are ſaid to have diſcovered ſome new mines of ſilver, iron, and coal, near St. Ubes.

The GRAND SIGNIOR was to be at Adrinople towards the beginning of March, from thence he proceeds on to the Grand Army.

Lord STANHOPE's Church Reformation Bill, is expected to come on in the courſe of next week. The noble earl would have introduced this bill earlier in the ſeſſion, but that he was ſo buſily employed in preparing a veſſel to ſail againſt WIND and TIDE, for which he has lately got a patent!

A Gentleman was aſking a Member of Parliament the other day, when Mr. Sheridan propoſed bringing forward his motion upon *Finance*—

"I ſuppoſe he waits for the appearance of the expected Comet to *enlighten* the ſubject," replied the Member, "for laſt year he totally *obſcured* it by calculations."

The idea of baniſhment from Scotland has long been a ſubject of ridicule, eſpecially among our ſouthern neighbours. But why the affection for one's native ſoil ſhould be leſs in Scotland than elſewhere, is not eaſy to be defined. In a recent trial in the court of Juſticiary, this prejudice was ably combated by a Judge, equally conſpicuous for his love of literature as his knowledge of the laws. The maxim that one's own country is always the beſt, is founded in nature and reaſon; and it is a matter of indifference whether it is Iceland or Scotland, the South of England or the South of France, on the banks of the Arno, or on the banks of the river Senegal.

YET, where to find that happieſt ſpot below,
Who can direct when all pretend to know?
The ſhudd'ring tenant of the frigid zone
Boldly proclaims that happieſt ſpot his own,
Extols the treaſures of his ſtormy ſeas,
And his long night of revelry and eaſe;
The naked ſavage, panting at the line,
Boaſts of his golden ſands and palmy wine,
Baſks in the glare, or ſtems the tepid wave,
And thanks his gods for all the good they gave.
Nor leſs the patriot's boaſt where'er we roam,
HIS FIRST, BEST COUNTRY, EVER IS, AT HOME.

GOLDSMITH.

MARCH 11.

Extract of a letter from Dr. PRICE, *to the Duke of* ROCHEFOUCAULT.

"*Hackney, near London, Nov.* 9, 1789.

"THE Addreſs to the National Aſſembly, which is annexed to this, having been propoſed by Dr. Price, he hopes that the Duke of Rochefoucault will not be diſpleaſed to learn, that it was received with an ardor difficult to be deſcribed, by an Aſſembly compoſed of the Earl of STANHOPE, of the Lord Mayor of London, of many Members of the Parliament of England, and of more than three hundred perſons of diſtinction, aſſembled upon the occaſion of the anniverſary of the Engliſh Revolution, in order to celebrate that event. If the expreſſions of their admiration; if the wiſhes of proſperity, which they requeſt the Duke of Rochefoucault to preſent, ſhould appear temerity on their part, they hope the National Aſſembly of France will yet excuſe it, as the effect of an effuſion of zeal, in the general cauſe of public liberty, that no apprehenſions of inconvenience could reſtrain. The Repreſentatives of the French nation labour for the univerſe as well as for France, the whole world is intereſted in their ſucceſs."

Copy of a letter from the Earl of Stanhope, to the Duke of Rochefoucault, of the 6th November, 1789,

SIR,

IT is with great ſatisfaction I have the honor of conveying to you two unanimous reſolutions of a Society eſtabliſhed in England, to celebrate the famous revolution of 1688.—Theſe motions were received with the moſt marked approbation, and reiterated acclamations. Shall I venture, on the part of the ſociety, to requeſt you to preſent theſe reſolutions to the National Aſſembly of France? I entreat you to believe me with the greateſt reſpect and ſincereſt attachment, Sir, your's, &c. (Signed)

STANHOPE."

It was in conſequence of thoſe two letters, that the Duke of Rochefoucault communicated to the National Aſſembly the addreſs of the revolution Society. See, with pleaſure, how this diſtinguiſhed Member of the National Aſſembly anſwered theſe two ſpirited, liberal, and philoſophical Engliſh citizens.

Paris, Wedneſday, Dec. 2, 1789.

"IT truly belonged to the illuſtrious apoſtle of liberty, Dr. PRICE, to propoſe a motion tending to offer up to that liberty the moſt diſtinguiſhed homage—*that of national prejudices.* The addreſs of felicitation, which the Earl of Stanhope has done the Duke of Rochefoucault the honor of tranſmitting to him, was received by the National Aſſembly with the livelieſt applauſe. The Aſſembly perceived in it the dawn of that beautiful day, when two nations, which, in ſpite of their political diviſions, and the diverſity of their governments, have always eſteemed each other, will form a cloſe and intimate connection, founded on the ſimilitude of their opinions, and ſupported by their common enthuſiaſm for liberty.—The Aſſembly has accordingly charged their Preſident to write to the Earl of Stanhope.

"The Duke of Rochefoucault, happy to have been ſelected for this honorable commiſſion, has, with zeal, given an account of it to the National Aſſembly, and has made known to it the title, which a ſociety, whoſe object is ſo noble and patriotic, has to the eſteem of the French nation.

"He takes the liberty of requeſting a copy of the Doctor's ſermons; every thing that proceeds from his pen is precious. Doctor Price ſurely ſees, with ſatisfaction, the principles of their common friend, Mr. TURGOT, propagated for the happineſs of France, and of the human race.

"The Duke of Rochefoucault has the honor of preſenting his ſincere compliments to Mr. Price."

The National Aſſembly having deſired that mention ſhould be made, in the letter of the Preſident, to the revolution Society of England, of the deſire of extinguiſhing that ancient jealouſy, which no longer becomes nations free and enlightened—Upon this principle it is, that the Archbiſhop of AIX, Preſident, has written the following letter to the Earl of Stanhope, Preſident of the Revolution Society:

"IT is, indeed, my Lord, worthy of a celebrated Society, and of a people happy and free, to intereſt themſelves in the progreſs of public liberty and happineſs.

"It is now ſome time ſince the French nation has felt the influence of its progreſs in knowledge and in arts. It directed its Government by its opinions, long before its opinions influenced its laws. It purſued, with ardour, uſeful truths; and, ſhedding every day freſh lights upon all the parts of its adminiſtration, it ſeemed impelled, by one univerſal motion, to thoſe changes to which it has been indebted for its conſiſtency and ſtrength. A King, whom we may truly call the beſt of men, and firſt of citizens, encouraged by his virtues the hopes of the nation; until an unanimous concurrence of ſentiment has at length eſtabliſhed a permanent Conſtitution, founded upon the unalienable rights of men and of citizens.

"It doubtleſs belongs to our age, in which reaſon keeps pace with liberty, to extinguiſh forever, national jealouſy and hatred. Let not wars, and the other miſchievous errors of government, be any longer the effects of prejudices, which are the ſhame of nations; and may the two moſt enlightened people of the world feel it their duty to ſhew, by their example, that the love of their country is compatible with the ſentiments of humanity!

"The National Aſſembly has diſcovered, in the addreſs of the Revolution Society, thoſe principles of univerſal benevolence, which ought to unite, throughout every country of the world, the real friends of the liberty and happineſs of nations. It has given the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of the deepeſt and moſt lively ſenſe of it, in a ſolemn reſolution, which I am charged to communicate to you."

LISBON, Dec. 30.

On the 16th inſt. the Queen, in taking a walk, perceived ſome uniforms with cockades that were not known to her. Her Majeſty demanded of what nation they were: and being told they were the crew of a French ſhip deſtined for the coaſt of Guinea, ſhe gave orders for the prohibition of French National cockades.

THE TABLET.——No. CXV.

"*The main ſecret of being ſublime, is to ſay great things in a few and plain words.*"

WORDS, like dreſs, are often uſed to adorn that, which, without the aid of ornament, would be deemed of little value. We are not more frequently deceived in the worth of characters by decorations of attire, than we are in the importance of ſentiments by embelliſhments of ſtile. To know the value of a man or a book, we muſt ſtrip them of their external glare, and view them under that ſimplicity which ſhews nothing different from what it really is. An intereſting thought will continue to be ſuch, however ſimple may be the expreſſions that convey it.

Many writers aim at a ſublime ſtile, and ſuppoſe they attain it, by uſing a redundancy of epithets, and giving an harmonious cadence to their periods. Where this falſe notion prevails, people will only ſtudy to make their compoſitions ſound well. Why ſhould they be at the pains of deep contemplations, when a flowing pompous turn of expreſſions will be taken as an equivalent for ſublime thoughts. But they are in reality very different things. No magnificence of words can give importance to a trivial thought; nor can any ſimplicity of expreſſion deprive a great idea of its intrinſic excellence.

SHAKESPEAR is allowed to excel any other author in the force of his deſcriptions. But it is well known that he was extremely careleſs in his ſtile. We are compelled to admire him, though he wrote like one who did not ſeek admiration. His conceptions were naturally bold and lofty, and though his language was often coarſe and vulgar, yet his works will live as long as men do. Let every one believe, that it is more neceſſary to ſtudy things than words; and that to think well is better than to ſpeak ſmooth.

CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, MAY 17.

The committee to whom was re-committed the bill to regulate the trade and intercourſe with the Indian tribes, having reported the draft of a new bill, the ſame was read the ſecond time, and referred to the committee of the whole houſe.

Mr. Huger preſented a letter addreſſed to the members of the Houſe from the State of S. Carolina, containing a repreſentation from the Commiſſioners of the pilotage of harbors of S. Carolina. This was read, and referred to the Secretary of the Treaſury.

The report of the Committee on the petition of Thomas Jenkins, and Co. was read the ſecond time, and the ſame committee was ordered to bring in a bill purſuant to the report.

The report of the joint committee on the diſagreement between the two houſes in the amendments propoſed by the houſe to the "bill for adapting to the State of N. Carolina the act therein mentioned, and for amending ſaid act" was read. This report propoſes that the houſe ſhould recede from thoſe amendments. The houſe agreed to recede from the firſt amendment, and the diſtrict Court for the ſtate of N. Carolina, is now to be held at Newbern, only. The ſecond amendment was, to provide for the holding of the diſtrict Court alternately at Exeter and Portſmouth, as in the Judiciary bill, it was moved to recede from this amendment. This was oppoſed by Mr. Foſter and Mr. Gilman, and adocated by Mr. Livermore.

The queſtion for receding being put, was loſt; and the houſe voted to inſiſt on their amendment.

The houſe then took into conſideration the amendments propoſed by the Senate to the bill for the encouragement of learning and agreed to the ſame.

The report of the joint committee, reſpecting the terms for which the Preſident, Vice-Preſident, Senators, and Repreſentatives of the United States, have been choſen, &c. and which has been agreed to by the Senate, was taken into conſideration. The report was read.

Mr. Seney obſerved, that this report related to a ſubject of very great importance. It has not been made the order of the day—He believed gentlemen had not ſufficiently attended to it, to be prepared for ſuch a diſcuſſion as its importance demands; for his own part he ſhould wiſh for further time.

Mr. Gerry moved that it ſhould be referred to a committee of the whole houſe. This was voted in the affirmative, and made the order of the day for to-morrow.

The report of the committee on the arrears of pay due to certain officers and ſoldiers of the Virginia and N. Carolina lines of the late army was read the ſecond time.

This report occaſioned an intereſting debate. Some amendments were made, and the report finally adopted, and returned to the Senate for their concurrence. The report as amended is as follows

Reſolved, That the Preſident of the United States be requeſted to cauſe to be forthwith tranſmitted to the executives of the ſtates of Virginia, N. Carolina, and S. Carolina, a complete liſt of the officers, non-commiſſioned officers and privates of the lines of thoſe ſtates reſpectively, who are entitled to receive arrears of pay due for ſervices in the army, in the years 1782 *and* 1783, *annexing the particular ſum that is due to each individual with a requeſt to the executives of the ſaid ſtates to make known to the claimants, in the moſt effectual manner, that the ſaid arrears are ready to be diſcharged on proper application.*

Reſolved, That the Preſident of the United States be requeſted to cauſe the Secretary of the Treaſury to take the neceſſary ſteps for paying, within the ſaid ſtates reſpectively, the money appropriated by Congreſs, on the 29*th day of Sept.* 1789, *for the diſcharging the arrears of pay due to the troops of the lines of the ſaid ſtates reſpectively.*

Reſolved, That the Secretary of the Treaſury, in caſes where the payment has not been made to the original claimant in perſon, or to his repreſentative, be directed to take order for making the payment to the original claimant, or to ſuch perſon or perſons only as ſhall produce a power of attorney duly atteſted by two Juſtices of the Peace of the county in which ſuch perſon or perſons reſide, authorizing him or them to receive a certain ſpecified ſum.

A motion was made that the laſt paragraph ſhould be referred to a ſelect committee for the purpoſe of reporting a bill. This was negatived.

Mr. Smith, (S. C.) moved for the Ayes and Noes on the Reſolutions, but an adjournment being called for, precluded their being called.

TUESDAY, MAY 18.

Sundry petitions and memorials were read and referred.

The houſe then reſolved itſelf into a committee of the whole, on the report of the ſelect committee reſpecting the terms for which the Preſident, Vice-Preſident, Senators, and Repreſentatives have been reſpectively choſen.

This report occaſioned a lengthy debate, which laſted till the time of adjournment. It was oppoſed by Mr. Williamſon, Mr. Stone, Mr. Bland and Mr. Vining.——Mr. Gerry propoſed ſeveral amendments, one of which only was adopted, viz. that "Senators and Repreſentatives" ſhould be ſtruck out, and, "Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives" inſerted in lieu thereof. The report was advocated by Mr. Benſon, Mr. Lawrance, Mr. Sedgwick, Mr. Livermore, and Mr. Sherman.

In the oppoſition it was ſaid, that the Conſtitution was explicit in declaring that the members of the houſe ſhould be choſen every 2d year, plainly implying that they were elected for two years—that it was a dangerous precedent for Congreſs to conſtrue the conſtitution; that if the report is adopted, the State of North-Carolina will not, in all probability, be repreſented in the next Congreſs; as the circumſtances of that State do not admit of their aſſemblies being convened more than once a year—that the ſeſſion is commonly in November, and if a new election ſhould then be ordered, it will be unconſtitutional, as it would be holding two elections in one year, inſtead of their being biennial. That the report is not true in fact—as North-Carolina was not repreſented in Congreſs on the 4th March, 1789. It was further obſerved that there is no neceſſity for the interference of Congreſs in the buſineſs, as every ſucceſſive houſe muſt be the ſole judge of the qualification of its members, and the next Congreſs will determine for itſelf, let the preſent Congreſs paſs what laws they pleaſe; that the report contained a direct breach of the Conſtitution, as that expreſsly declares the members ſhall be choſen every ſecond year, whereas the State of North Carolina, in order to be repreſented, muſt hold two elections within one year. It was further ſaid that the Conſtitution does not explicitly ſay any thing about a New Congreſs; the report was an interference with the rights of election, and as ſuch would contravene the ſentiments of the people.

In ſupport of the reſolution it was urged, that from the contrariety of opinions which appeared on the ſubject, it was abſolutely neceſſary that ſome regulations ſhould be agreed upon, previous to ſuch queſtions as have now been ſtated being brought before Congreſs—agreeable to the obſervations now offered in objection to the report, there never will be an entire change of the repreſentation—this induces a principle incompatible with the nature of a democratical body—it changes it into an ariſtocracy, and gives it a perpetuity entirely unknown to any of the States in the union—it prevents the formation of a new Congreſs, and a rotation in the elections of the people; with reſpect to N. Carolina, no phyſical or natural impoſſibility has been pointed out, to ſhew that that ſtate cannot be repreſented in the next Congreſs, and if the ſtate ſhould be remiſs in making ſeaſonable proviſion in this reſpect; the Conſtitution inveſts Congreſs with powers to do it.—It was further ſaid, that if no determination was now made, it may happen, that no new election for that ſtate may take place, and therefore to ſecure its repreſentation, the neceſſity of the report is apparent, as it is not probable that members choſen for one Congreſs, will by virtue of ſuch choice be permitted to take a ſeat in the next ſucceeding Congreſs. It was ſaid that the term ſpecified refers to Congreſs as a body, and not to the particular members, that as the Conſtitution by a fair conſtruction contemplates a ſucceſſion of diſtinct aſſemblies, it clearly follows that a diſſolution muſt precede a new election of ſuch aſſemblies, which neceſſarily involves a ceſſation of the political exiſtence of the members, &c.

A motion in the midſt of the debate, for the committee's riſing, was negatived—as was alſo a motion made by Mr. Williamſon, to ſtrike out the word "Repreſentatives."

The committee then roſe, and reported the reſolution, with one amendment only, as above.

The Houſe immediately took the ſame into conſideration when the debate was renewed—but it was agreed to, without further amendment, and referred to a ſelect committee, who were directed to prepare a bill or bills agreeable thereto.——Adjourned.

NEW-YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 19.

Since the 12th of March three perſons have died in Charleſton of the Hydrophobia—a diſorder ſcarcely known in that ſtate, a few years ſince.

A correſpondent obſerves that every public ſpirited attempt to diſſeminate uſeful knowledge, in every branch of ſcience, and to extend beneficial improvements in agriculture, mechanics, manufactures is laudable to the higheſt degree.

On this principle extraordinary productions ſhould be duly noticed—as they may ſuggeſt hints of the greateſt importance.

The recent publication of Doctor Stiles, on the ſubject of raiſing ſilk, does honor to him as a patriot—and the efforts of other gentlemen in this line, muſt meet the applauſe of every friend to the manufactures of our country.

However divided as to the mode of effecting the object—the members of the legiſlature of the United States appear to be univerſally impreſſed with the importance of eſtabliſhing the PUBLIC CREDIT. *It may fairly be preſumed that the* union *of the ſtates is moſt firmly eſtabliſhed—for you cannot meet with a perſon who has attained to the years of common underſtanding, who will not readily ackhowledge that on this* union, *our political exiſtence is ſuſpended—the operation of ſo* univerſal *a ſentiment, muſt be paramount to every impediment in the way of our public proſperity. Still there remains this* one thing needful *to be done—and we truſt in Heaven it will be* ſoon *accompliſhed, in ſuch way as will bring forth the top ſtone of the glorious fabric we have reared with ſhouting.*

"*In forming and cementing the union of theſe ſtates, a ſuperior agency hath been viſible. Our reliance ought ſtill to be on that protecting Being which hath never forſaken us—that* he will cauſe our national character to be permanently ennobled, and the union of theſe ſtates to become the ſtandard of freedom, faith and good government.

The perfection of our ſtate governments will conſiſt in their approximating more and more towards the ſtandard exhibited in the national government. Of this the people appear to be ſenſible, and are taking meaſures accordingly, to effect this deſirable object in the fulleſt manner. The elections to both governments ſhould be directed to characters unequivocally attached to the union of all the parts of this great Empire, to the whole—thoſe who would eſtabliſh the general government upon the depreciation, or ruin of the ſtate governments are equally enemies to both; and thoſe who attempt to ſow the ſeeds of jealouſy between them, are, without all controverſy, the greateſt enemies of the people of the United States. Let the ſtate governments therefore be dear to the people, and their conſtitutional importance be conſtantly held up to view, as epitomes *of that great model to the whole, from whence we can alone expect to derive our character, and conſequence as a nation.*

The public may be aſſured that the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES is recovering from his indiſpoſition.

ARRIVALS SINCE OUR LAST.——NEW-YORK.

Packet Suffrin, Legrand, Bourdeaux, 53 days.
Brig Sally, Poſt, Cape Francois.
——Eliza, Armour, Amſterdam, 60 days.
——Recovery, Barnard, Port au Prince.
——Springfield, Gunnell, Tobago, 21 days.
Schooner John and James, Mathews, Philadelphia.
——Lilley, Heard, St Martin's, 18 days.
Sloop Betſey, Gracie, Waſhington, (N. C.) 9 days.
——Sally, Carey, Peterſburg, Virginia, 7 days.
——Union, Watſon, Philadelphia, 4 days.
——Anon, Phipps, Savanna, 14 days.

CONTINENTAL
AND
STATE SECURITIES,
BOUGHT AND SOLD,
AT NO. 196. WATER-STREET.
☞ *A generous price will be given for Military Rights of Land and Jerſey Paper Money.* May 4.

DISCOURSES ON DAVILA.

No. V.

O fureur de ſe diſtinguer, que ne pouvez vous point!

THE labour and anxiety, the enterprizes, and adventures, that are voluntarily undertaken in purſuit of gain, are out of all proportion to the utility, convenience or pleaſure of riches. A competence to ſatisfy the wants of nature, food and cloaths, a ſhelter from the ſeaſons, and the comforts of a family, may be had for very little. The daily toil of the million, and of millions of millions, is adequate to a complete ſupply of theſe neceſſities and conveniencies. With ſuch accommodations thus obtained, the appetite is keener, the digeſtion more eaſy and perfect, and repoſe is more refreſhing, than among the moſt abundant ſuperfluities and the rareſt luxuries. For what reaſon then, are any mortals averſe to the ſituation of the farmer, mechanic or laborer? Why do we tempt the ſeas, and encompaſs the globe? Why do any men affront heaven and earth, to accumulate wealth, which will forever be uſeleſs to them? Why do we make an oſtentatious diſplay of riches? Why ſhould any man be proud of his purſe, houſes, lands, or gardens? or in better words, why ſhould the rich man glory in his riches? What connection can there be, between wealth and pride? The anſwer to all theſe queſtions is, *becauſe riches attract the attention, conſideration and congratulations of mankind*; it is not becauſe the rich have really more of eaſe or pleaſure than the poor. Riches force the opinion on a man that he is the object of the congratulations of others; and he feels that they attract the complaiſance of the public. His ſenſes all inform him that his neighbors have a natural diſpoſition to harmonize with all thoſe pleaſing emotions, and agreeable ſenſations, which the elegant accommodations around him are ſuppoſed to excite.

His imagination expands, and his heart dilates at theſe charming illuſions: and his attachment to his poſſeſſions increaſes, as faſt as his deſire to accumulate more: not for the purpoſes of beneficence or utility, but from the deſire of illuſtration.

Why, on the other hand, ſhould any man be aſhamed to make known his poverty? Why ſhould thoſe who have been rich, or educated in the houſes of the rich, entertain ſuch an averſion, or be agitated with ſuch terror, at the proſpect of loſing their property? Or of being reduced to live at an humbler table? In a meaner houſe? To walk inſtead of riding? Or to ride without their accuſtomed equipage or retinue? Why do we hear of madneſs, melancholy and ſuicides, upon bankruptcy, loſs of ſhips, or any other ſudden fall from opulence to indigence, or mediocrity? Aſk your reaſon, what diſgrace there can be in poverty? What moral ſentiment of approbation, praiſe or honor, can there be in a palace? What diſhonor in a cottage? What glory in a coach, what ſhame in a waggon? Is not the ſenſe of propriety, and the ſenſe of merit as much connected with an empty purſe as a full one? May not a man be as eſtimable, amiable and reſpectable, attended by his faithful dog, as if preceded and followed by a train of horſes and ſervants? All theſe queſtions may be very wiſe; and the ſtoical philoſophy has her anſwers ready. But if you aſk the ſame queſtions of nature, experience, and mankind, the anſwers will be directly oppoſite to thoſe of Epictetus, viz. that there is more reſpectability in the eyes of the greater part of mankind, in the gaudy trappings of wealth, than there is in genius or learning, wiſdom or virtue.

The poor man's conſcience is clear; yet he is aſhamed. His character is irreproachable, yet he is neglected and deſpiſed. He feels himſelf out of the ſight of others groping in the dark. Mankind take no notice of him: he rambles and wanders unheeded. In the midſt of a croud, at church, in the market, at a play, at an execution, or coronation, he is in as much obſcurity, as he would be in a garret or a cellar. He is not diſapproved, cenſured or reproached: he is only not ſeen. This total inattention is to him, mortifying, painful and cruel. He ſuffers a miſery from this conſideration, which is ſharpened by the conſciouſneſs that others have no fellow feeling with him in this diſtreſs. If you follow theſe perſons however into their ſcenes of life, you will find that there is a kind of figure which the meaneſt of them all, endeavors to make; a kind of little grandeur and reſpect, which the moſt inſignificant, ſtudy and labour to procure, in the ſmall circle of their acquaintances. Not only the pooreſt mechanic, but the man who lives upon common charity, nay the common beggars in the ſtreets; and not only thoſe who may be all innocent, but even thoſe who have abandoned themſelves to common infamy as pirates, highwaymen and common thieves, court a ſet of admirers, and plume themſelves on that ſuperiority, which they have, or fancy they have, over ſome others. There muſt be one indeed who is the laſt and loweſt of the human ſpecies. But there is no riſque in aſſerting that there is no one, who believes and will acknowledge himſelf to be the man.—To be wholly overlooked, and to know it, are intolerable. Inſtances of this are not uncommon. When a wretch could no longer attract the notice of a man, woman or child, he muſt be reſpectable in the eyes of his dog. "Who will love me then?" was the pathetic reply of one, who ſtarved himſelf to feed his maſtiff, to a charitable paſſenger who adviſed him to kill or ſell the animal. In this "who will love me then," there is a key to the human heart; to the hiſtory of human life and manners; and to the riſe and fall of Empires. To feel ourſelves unheeded, chills the moſt pleaſing hope; damps the moſt fond deſire; checks the moſt agreeable wiſh; diſappoints the moſt ardent expectations of human nature.

Is there in ſcience and letters, a reward for the labor they require? Scholars learn the dead languages of antiquity, as well as the living tongues of modern nations. Thoſe of the eaſt as well as the weſt.—They puzzle themſelves and others with metaphyſics and mathematics. They renounce their pleaſures, neglect their exerciſes, and deſtroy their health; for what? Is curioſity ſo ſtrong? Is the pleaſure that accompanies the purſuit and acquiſition of knowledge ſo exquiſite? If Cruſoe, on his iſland, had the library of Alexandria, and a certainty that he ſhould never again ſee the face of man, would he ever open a volume? Perhaps he might: but it is very probable he would read but little. A ſenſe of duty; a love of truth; a deſire to alleviate the anxieties of ignorance, may, no doubt, have an influence on ſome minds. But the univerſal object and idol of men of letters is *reputation*. It is the *notoriety*, the *celebration*, which conſtitutes the charm, which is to compenſate the loſs of appetite and ſleep, and ſometimes of riches and honors.

The ſame ardent deſire of the *congratulations* of others in our joys, is the great incentive to the purſuit of honors. This might be exemplified in the career of civil and political life. That we may not be too tedious let us inſtance in military glory. Is it to be ſuppoſed that the regular ſtanding armies of Europe, engage in the ſervice, from pure motives of patriotiſm? Are their officers men of contemplation and devotion, who expect their reward in a future life? Is it, from a ſenſe of moral, or religious duty, that they riſque their lives, and reconcile themſelves to wounds? ———Inſtances of all theſe kinds may be found.—But if any one ſuppoſes that all or the greater part of theſe heroes, are actuated by ſuch principles, he will only prove that he is unacquainted with them. Can their pay be conſidered as an adequate encouragement? This, which is no more, than a very ſimple and moderate ſubſiſtence, would never be a temptation to renounce the chances of fortune in other purſuits together with the pleaſures of domeſtic life, and ſubmit to this moſt difficult and dangerous employment. No, it is the conſideration and the chances of laurels, which they acquire by the ſervice.

The ſoldier compares himſelf with his fellows, and contends for promotion to be a Corporal: the Corporals vie with each other to be Serjeants: the Serjeants will mount breaches to be Enſigns: and thus every man in an army is conſtantly aſpiring to be ſomething higher, as every citizen in the commonwealth is conſtantly ſtruggling for a better rank, that he may draw the obſervation of more eyes.

LONDON.

The purchaſe of Mr. Haſting's Town-houſe was not quite 10,000l. but the furniture is coſtly in the extreme; and there are ſuits for the different ſeaſons. The beds prepared for caſual ſummer viſits to the metropolis are of the fineſt book muſlin, exquiſitely wrought, and lined with India diaper, dyed of various colours, and of a peculiarly beautiful texture; and one ſet of chairs in particular, which are of carved ivory, coſt 300l. each chair, in India.

DISINTERESTED GENEROSITY.

WHEN METASTASIO'S circumſtances were far from affluent, and he was only known at Vienna, as a writer for the opera, under Apoſtolo and Zeno, a perſon with whom he had contracted a great intimacy, left him at his death 15000l. ſterling. But Metaſtaſio hearing that his friend had relations at Bologna, went thither in ſearch of them; and having found ſuch as he thought beſt entitled to theſe poſſeſſions, told them, that though the deceaſed had bequeathed to him his whole fortune, he could ſuppoſe it to be no otherways than in truſt, till he ſhould find out the moſt deſerving of his kindred, in order to divide it equally among them, which he immediately did, without the leaſt reſerve in his own favor.

SHAKESPEARE.

To the very many editions of our immortal bard, one is in agitation by the BLUE-STOCKING CLUB, which conſiſts of many of the firſt rate male and female geniuſſes, to be entitled, "*The Ladies Shakeſpeare.*" The plan of this edition is to be a familiar criticiſm on the ſenſibilities, rather than the language or learning of the author—Somewhat in the ſtile of ADDISON'S critique on MILTON—to be uſeful to all who have any reliſh for the *poet*, or *moral writer*.

THE DEBTOR. *(By Sir John Moore.)*

CHILDREN of Affluence! hear a poor man's prayer,
O haſte, and free me from this dungeon's gloom;
Let not the hand of comfortleſs deſpair,
Sink my grey hairs with ſorrow to the tomb!

Unus'd Compaſſion's tribute to demand,
With clamorous din wake charity's dull ear,
Wring the ſlow aid from Pity's loitering hand,
Weave the feign'd tale, or drop the ready tear.

Far different thoughts employ'd my early hours,
To views of bliſs, to ſcenes of affluence born,
The hand of Pleaſure ſtrew'd my path with flowers,
And every bleſſing hail'd my youthful morn.

But ah! how quick the change! the morning gleam,
That chear'd my fancy with her magic ray,
Fled like the gariſh pageant of a dream,
And ſorrow clos'd the evening of my day.

Such is the lot of human bliſs below,
And hope a while the trembling ſlow'ret rears,
'Till unforeſeen deſcends the blight of woe,
And withers in an hour the pride of years.

In evil hour, to ſpecious wiles a prey,
I truſted—(whom from faults is always free?)
And the ſhort progreſs of one fatal day,
Was all the ſpace 'twixt wealth and poverty.

Where could I ſeek for comfort, or for aid?
To whom the ruins of my ſtate commend?
Left to myſelf, abandon'd and betray'd,
Too late I found the wretched have no friend!

E'en he, amid the reſt, the favour'd youth,
Whoſe vows had met the tendereſt warm return,
Forgot his oaths of conſtancy and truth,
And left my child in ſolitude to mourn.

Pity in vain ſtretch'd forth her feeble hand,
To guard the ſacred wreaths by Hymen wove,
While pale-eyed Avarice from his ſordid ſtand,
Scowl'd o'er the ruins of neglected love.

Though deeply hurt, yet, ſwayed by decent pride,
She huſh'd her ſorrows with becoming art,
And faintly ſtrove, with ſickly ſmiles, to hide
The canker-worm that prey'd upon her heart.

Nor blam'd his cruelty— nor wiſh'd to hate
Whom once ſhe lov'd—but pitied and forgave,
Then unrepining yielded to her fate,
And ſunk in ſilent anguiſh to the grave.

Children of affluence! hear a poor man's prayer,
O haſte, and free me from this dungeon's gloom
Let not the hand of comfortleſs deſpair,
Sink my grey hairs with ſorrow to the tomb!

THE UNITED STATES.

"'TIS but the morning of the world with us,
And Science yet but ſheds her orient rays—
I ſee the age, the happy age, roll on—
Bright with the ſplendours of her mid-day beams"—
Thoſe beams of virtue, honor, knowledge, truth,
That ſcatter'd thro' long periods, have illum'd
The happieſt days of Empires, now no more,
Shall meet, and mingle in one glorious blaze—
And ſhew the world to what ſupernal heights—
PEACE, LAWS, and FREEDOM can exalt mankind!

ADVERTISEMENT.

BY order of the honorable John Sloſs Hobart Eſquire, one of the Juſtices of the Supreme Court of Judicature of the State of New-York. Notice is hereby given to Paul Deyrell, now or late of Long Iſland, Eſquire, an abſconding debtor, and to all others whom it may concern; that upon application and due proof, made to the ſaid Juſtice, purſuant to an act of the legiſlature, entitled "an act for relief againſt abſconding and abſent debtors," paſſed the fourth day of April, 1786, by a creditor of the ſaid Paul Deyrell, he the ſaid Juſtice has directed all his the ſaid Paul Deyrell's Eſtate, real and perſonal, within this State, to be ſeized; and that unleſs he ſhall diſcharge his debts within three months after the publication of this notice; all his Eſtate real and perſonal will be ſold for the payment and ſatisfaction of his creditors. Dated at the city of New-York, the twenty-ſeventh day of March, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety. *March* 31. 1aw3m.

William Taylor,

Has for Sale, at his EAST-INDIA GOODS STORE, No. 3, QUEEN-STREET,

A General Aſſortment of EAST-INDIA GOODS.

Among which are the following Articles:

BOOK Muſlins 8-4 6-4 5-4	HUMHUMS,
Jackonet do.	Long Cloths,
Hankerchiefs, of various kinds,	Caſſas,
Chintzes,	Seerſuckers,
Ginghams,	Boglapores.

A Variety of handſome painted MUSLINS.

With many other Articles, which will be ſold by the Piece or Package, low for caſh.

A Morning School is opened,

by the Subſcriber, for YOUNG LADIES, at Harmony Hall, adjoining the Baptiſts burying ground, in Gold Street. Hours of attendance are from 6 till 8.—For further particulars, pleaſe to enquire of the Public's Obedient Servant, GAD ELY.

N. B. The *Young Ladies School* which has been kept at No. 219 Queen-Street, is removed to the above place.

New-York, May 8, 1790.

James F. Sebor, and Co.

Have removed from No. 59, to No. 187, Water-Street, near the Fly-Market,

WHERE they negociate all kinds of PUBLICK SECURITIES—BILLS OF EXCHANGE. &c. as uſual.

New-York, April 8, 1790. tf.

Moſes Rogers, and Co.

HAVE removed their STORE to the New Building, corner of Golden-Hill and Queen-Street, fronting Burling Slip.

New-York, May 5, 1790.

CASH, and a generous price given for Continental, New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, and Rhode-Iſland ſecurities, of every denomination, by

EBENEZER THAYER, jun. No. 59, *Water-Street.*

New-York, April 17, 1790.

☞ *THE* MAIL DILIGENCE *for Philadelphia leaves the Ferry-Stairs at New-York, forty minutes after Seven every Morning, except Sunday. Dines at Brunſwick, and reaches Trenton before dark.*